

ON THE USE OF THE CONJUNCTION ἵνα IN HELLENISTIC KOINE
AND IN THE LANGUAGE OF THE NEW TESTAMENT:
A POSSIBLE LATIN INFLUENCE

Kyriakoula Papademetriou

Aristotle University of Thessaloniki, Thessaloniki, Greece

Abstract: The use of ἵνα in Hellenistic Koine and in the New Testament texts has been sufficiently investigated and its linguistic development from Classical Greek to Modern Greek has been outlined. This paper intends to contribute to this discussion, drawing attention to the syntax of the substantive clauses in Latin introduced with the conjunction *ut*, and suggesting a similar syntax of ἵνα employed as a novel volitional expression in Hellenistic Koine. Concretely, while the prevailing view is that there is an independent parallel development, the present paper aims to reinforce the view that there is a Latin influence in this particular case. The sociolinguistic factors of bilingualism and language interference are highlighted, and for the first time, as far as we know, the Latin translation practice practiced widely in the Roman Empire is suggested as an argument to support this view. (Article)

Keywords: Hellenistic Koine, ἵνα, final infinitive, volitional clauses, volitional ἵνα clauses, Latin influence, sociolinguistics.

1. *The Object, the Aim, and the Process of the Study*

The conjunction ἵνα is one of the most significant evolutionary differences between the classical Attic language and the Hellenistic Koine.¹ It is the conjunction that displaced or

1. Cf. all the grammars of the Hellenistic Koine, as well as all the histories of the Greek language, where there is a specialized chapter or unit on ἵνα constructions. Moreover, the use of ἵνα in the Koine and in the New

constrained the conjunctions ὡς and ὅπως; it took the place of ὥστε as well as that of ὅτι; it is the conjunction that changed the future indicative; it took over certain uses from the imperative, replaced to a large extent the optative, and shaped the new subjunctive. Moreover, the conjunction ἵνα, which played an important role in replacing the infinitive, began to function as a complement of the verb with complement clauses, the role of which the present study will examine.

The paper proceeds as follows. First, in sections two through five, the types of ἵνα clauses that result from the analysis of the final infinitive are identified and a distinction is made between: (a) the nominative or substantive clauses that correspond to infinitives, which are objects of the controlling verbs; and (b) the adverbial clauses that correspond to infinitives, which are adverbial qualifiers of the controlling verbs, such as qualifiers of purpose, result, or reference. We focus on nominal or substantive ἵνα clauses, examine their syntactical function, and ascertain their volitional nature.

Subsequently, in sections six through eight, we trace back the historical appearance of such clauses which coincide with the contact with Latin and explore factors that favor the possibility of the Latin influence. While developing the analysis of the phenomenon in both languages, we note that Greek conforms to the Latin type of analysis, although it had other alternatives. We highlight Roman translation practices as a strong factor that contributed to the establishment of these volitional clauses in Greek.

Thereafter, in sections nine through eleven, we reconstitute our data and describe the evolutionary process of the analysis of the infinitive to volitional clauses. We justify the need to create them in Greek and explain Latin's contribution based on linguistic conditions. We make recourse to the findings of modern sociolinguistic research on the phenomenon of bilingualism and the interference and interface of languages. Finally, we rebut objections that exclude Latin influence and the

Testament has been the subject of several studies and even dissertations. E.g. Curry, "Nature and Use"; Sim, "Relevance Theoretic Approach."

assertion that it is merely a parallel development of the analysis of the infinitives in the two languages, or that it is a Semitic influence rather than a Latin one.

In conclusion, we suggest that it is strongly possible that the establishment of this specific type of volitional clause in Greek is due to the influence of Latin, which would accelerate and define this concrete syntactical form over other alternative forms.

2. *The Identification of ἵνα-Clauses*

The syntactic phenomenon of the replacement of the infinitive with a ἵνα clause appears with significant frequency in the texts of the New Testament, and in non-literary texts of papyri and inscriptions dating back to the post-Ptolemaic years of the Roman Republic and especially during the era of the Roman Empire, with some cases also appearing in the Septuagint.² It has replaced almost all the final infinitives in the Hellenistic Koine, even those that are subjects of impersonal verbs and expressions, or predicates and exegetical (explanatory) forms.³ The problem is that the clauses that emerged, with the ἵνα + subjunctive form instead of a final infinitive functioning as object, are not precisely identical to any of the known semantic categories of the clauses of the Ancient Greek language, and thus ought to be recognized as a new kind of clause. Subsequently, this novel clause follows an evolutionary course that has reached the Modern Greek of today in the form of να + subjunctive.⁴

Additionally, another problem comes up regarding the recognition of these new clauses. Their parallel presence with final ἵνα clauses on the one hand, and with clauses where the ἵνα (or ἵνα μή) replaces the classical introductory conjunctions on the other hand—as is the case in clauses of result (ἵνα instead of ὥστε and ὥς), clauses of apprehension (ἵνα instead of μή), and even independent hortatory clauses (ἵνα instead of imperative)—

2. Mandilaras, *Verb*, §775.

3. Turner, *Syntax*, 103. Cf. Blass, Debrunner, and Funk, *Greek Grammar* §§388–94; Mandilaras, *Verb*, §§732, 775, 792, etc.

4. Browning, *Medieval and Modern Greek*, 43.

creates confusion and makes the nature and the function of these novel clauses incomprehensible. This confusion is exacerbated by the fact that in the Koine there is a mitigation of the semantic differences between purpose and result (i.e., between final clauses and clauses of result),⁵ as well as between desire and exhortation.

3. Volitional Clauses instead of the Object Final Infinitive

Ἰνα-clauses resulting from the analysis of the final infinitive are neither final nor in any of the other categories of clauses because they have the following specific characteristics.

First, they are complements of the verb as a direct object (as was the final infinitive they replaced), not adverbial determinations of the verb stating circumstances within which the verbal action unfolds (such as condition, cause, purpose, result). Therefore, the Ἰνα clauses in question are equivalent to a noun rather than an adverb, and so they are classified as complementary nominal-substantive clauses and not as adverbial clauses. For example:

Luke 16:27: ἔρωτώ σε οὖν, πάτερ, ἵνα πέμψῃς αὐτὸν εἰς τὸν οἶκον τοῦ πατρὸς μου.

2 Thess 3:12: τοῖς δὲ τοιοῦτοις παραγγέλλομεν καὶ παρακαλοῦμεν ἐν κυρίῳ Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ, ἵνα μετὰ ἡσυχίας ἐσθίωσιν.

Compare the following adverbial examples:

Phil 1:10: εἰς τὸ δοκιμάζειν ὑμᾶς τὰ διαφέροντα ἐργαζόμενοι τὸν ἑαυτῶν ἄρτον, ἵνα ᾗτε εἰλικρινεῖς καὶ ἀπρόσκοποι εἰς ἡμέραν Χριστοῦ.

John 6:38: ὅτι καταβέβηκα ἀπὸ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ οὐχ ἵνα ποιῶ τὸ θέλημα τὸ ἐμὸν ἀλλὰ τὸ θέλημα τοῦ πέμψαντός με.

Second, in their form and meaning, these Ἰνα clauses are clauses of desire (since they depend on verbs of desire and are formulated with ἵνα + subjunctive), but the desire they express

5. Cf. Porter, *Idioms*, 235.

presents an object of volition declared by the verb and inherent in the verb.⁶ It does not determine the meaning of the verb of the main clause externally, by presenting the ultimate purpose or result it intends to reach. In other words, the statement of the governing verb is of secondary significance, because the writer wants to emphasize the execution rather than the aim of the action expressed by these dependent *ἵνα* clauses.⁷

The verbs on which these *ἵνα* clauses depend and which occur in the New Testament are listed and categorized here, while all the passages where these verbs occur are cited in the respective footnotes.⁸

(1) Verbs signifying to command, order, exhort, entreat, encourage:

ἐντέλλομαι, παραγγέλλω, ἀπαγγέλλω, διαστέλλομαι, διαμαρτύρομαι, ἐπιτιμῶ, κηρύσσω, ἐξορκίζω, γράφω, λέγω ('command'), τίθημι ('ordain');⁹

(2) Verbs signifying to request, ask, beg, beseech, implore: ἐρωτῶ, αἰτοῦμαι, παρακαλῶ, προσεύχομαι, δέομαι;¹⁰

(3) Verbs signifying will or wish: θέλω, ἀγαλλιῶμαι;¹¹

6. The term *volition* should not be understood in its strict meaning, but in the broader sense, including every attitude of the subject, such as intention, command, exhortation, even wish or pray. See Schwyzer, *Syntax*, 314.

7. Mandilaras, *Verb*, §586.

8. See Burton, *Syntax*, §§191–210; Blass, Debrunner, and Funk, *Greek Grammar*, §392; Turner, *Syntax*, 103–5; Mandilaras, *Verb*, §§578–95; cf. §§795, 797, 799.

9. Ἐντέλλομαι: Mark 13:34; John 15:17; παραγγέλλω: Mark 6:8; 1 Thess 4:11; 2 Thess 3:12; but adverbially in 1 Tim 4:7; ἀπαγγέλλω: Matt 28:10; διαστέλλομαι: Matt 16:20; Mark 5:43; 7:36; 9:9; διαμαρτύρομαι: 1 Tim 5:21; ἐπιτιμῶ: Matt 12:16; Mark 3:12; 8:30; κηρύσσω: Mark 6:12; ἐξορκίζω: Matt 26:63; γράφω: Matt 9:12; John 12:16; λέγω: Matt 4:3; 20:21; Luke 2:3; 10:40; Acts 19:4; 1 Cor 7:8; τίθημι: John 15:16.

10. Ἐρωτῶ: Mark 7:26; Luke 16:27; John 17:15; 1 John 5:16; 2 John 5; αἰτοῦμαι: Col 1:9; παρακαλῶ: Matt 14:36; Mark 5:10, 18; 6:56; 7:32; 8:22; Luke 8:31, 32; 1 Cor 1:10; 16:12, 15–16; 2 Cor 8:6; 9:5; 12:8; 1 Thess 4:1; 2 Thess 3:12; προσεύχομαι: Matt 24:20; 26:41; Mark 13:18; 14:32, 35; 1 Cor 14:13; Eph 1:16–17; 3:14; Phil 1:9; δέομαι: Luke 21:36.

11. Θέλω: Matt 7:12; Mark 9:30; John 17:24; 1 Cor 16:12 (οὐκ ἦν θέλημα ἵνα νῦν ἔλθῃ); ἀγαλλιῶμαι: John 8:56.

(4) Verbs signifying ability, fitness, need: ἰκανός εἰμι, ἄξιός εἰμι, χρείαν ἔχω;¹²

(5) Verbs signifying to strive for, take care, neglect: ζητῶ, ζηλῶ, βλέπω, φυλάσσομαι;¹³

(6) Verbs signifying to grant, accept, allow, prevent: δίδωμι, δέχομαι, ἀφίημι;¹⁴

(7) Verbs signifying to plan, cause, effect: συμβουλεύομαι, συντίθεμαι, ποιῶ.¹⁵

To summarize, ἵνα clauses replacing the final infinitive function as an object as complements of the verb, acting as a noun which completes the verb's action, not as an adverb that defines the verb when it acts. This characteristic distinguishes them from adverbial clauses introduced by ἵνα. For this reason, they can be characterized as substantive volitional clauses¹⁶ and considered precursors of the volitional clauses of Modern Greek.¹⁷

4. Final or Consecutive Clauses instead of the Object Infinitive

At this point, two further clarifications need to be made. First, there are ἵνα clauses that are an analysis of a final infinitive, and

12. Ἰκανός εἰμι: Matt 8:8; Luke 7:6; ἄξιός εἰμι: John 1:27; χρείαν ἔχω: John 2:25; 16:30; Heb 10:36; 1 John 2:27.

13. Ζητῶ: 1 Cor 4:21; ζηλῶ: 1 Cor 14:1; βλέπω: 1 Cor 16:10; φυλάσσομαι: 2 Pet 3:17.

14. Δίδωμι: Mark 10:37; John 17:2; ἀφίημι: Mark 11:16; John 12:7.

15. Συμβουλεύομαι: Matt 26:4; συντίθεμαι: John 9:22; ποιῶ: Matt 19:16; Mark 3:14; Acts 16:30.

16. Some categories of clauses, which in Classical Greek constitute nominal-substantive clauses, also have a volitional character. These are (a) clauses of apprehension that depend on verbs of fear and anxiety, and (b) final-indirect speech clauses that are introduced with ὅπως and ὡς and that depend on verbs of care. See Kühner, Gerth, and Blass, *Ausführliche Grammatik*, 2.2: §552.

17. Cf. Schwyzer, *Syntax*, 384.

they are a direct complement to the meaning of the verb. Nevertheless, they do not present the action they express as the object of the verb's volition but as the ultimate purpose or effect resulting from that action. They depend on verbs of various significance: verbs of motion, such as φέρω, πέμπω, ἔρχομαι, which are constructed with a final ἵνα clause instead of an infinitive of purpose; verbs implying result which are constructed with a consecutive ἵνα clause instead of an infinitive of the result. These ἵνα clauses are not recognized as volitional but as final or consecutive, and they will not concern us here. For example:

Analysis of a final infinitive of purpose, following especially verbs of motion (ἀποστέλλω, πέμπω, ἔρχομαι), resulting in an adverbial final clause: ἀπέστειλεν πρὸς τοὺς γεωργοὺς δοῦλον ἵνα ἀπὸ τοῦ καρποῦ τοῦ ἀμπελώνος δώσουσιν αὐτῷ (Luke 20:11).

Analysis of a final infinitive of result, following a verb signifying an intended action (e.g. δίδωμι, καταλείπω, αἰροῦμαι ['choose'], ποιῶ ['act'], ἔχω ['afford']), resulting in a consecutive adverbial clause: δὸς ἡμῖν ἵνα εἶς σου ἐκ δεξιῶν καὶ εἶς ἐξ ἀριστερῶν καθίσωμεν ἐν τῇ δόξῃ σου (Mark 10:37).

Second, in some of the seven categories of volitional ἵνα clauses mentioned above, we can discern more than just the expression of the volition of the governing verb. So, although the distinctive features of volitional clauses mentioned above are present in all volitional ἵνα clauses, in those dependent on verbs signifying ability or striving for doing something (cases 4 and 5) or signifying permission and prohibition or cause and effect (cases 6 and 7), we can sometimes recognize the significance of reference, purpose, or result, so that the clauses can be classified as final or consecutive clauses.¹⁸

5. *The Volitional Character of the Clauses*

Purely volitional clauses, then, are the clauses that emerged from an analysis of the final infinitive, which was the object of verbs

18. See Mandilaras, *Verb*, §580.

of command or exhortation, entreaty, and willingness (cases 1, 2, and 3). These clauses do not have an equivalence in Classical Greek, where no category of volitional clauses is recognized. There volition is expressed with the final infinitive, and, where applicable, with the future indicative, with potential or modal particles (such as the potential $\alpha\upsilon$), with the imperative, and with the moods of adverbial clauses of desire.

It is crucial to note that all the functions of ἵνα concern forms that express the volition and desire of the subject of their clause in various ways. The linguistic expression of a subjective attitude involves modality and consists mainly of the grammatical categories of moods of desire (subjunctive, optative, imperative), including the final infinitive, as well as the future indicative.¹⁹ On the one hand, this observation sets the framework for our examination of the ἵνα clauses that are complements, and on the other hand, it gives the key by which we can understand this function and enter into the essence of the matter.

6. *The Historical Meeting with Latin*

It is well known that changes occurring in a language do not appear suddenly and immediately, but develop slowly and gradually over time, often following socio-historical changes. They are influenced by more than one factor, linguistic or otherwise, but also influence in turn their sociolinguistic environment, thus creating a chain of bidirectional and multiple changes. Regarding the change here under consideration, in the fourth century BCE, in the texts of the classical period, we see an analysis of the final infinitive in a substantial clause of desire, but the samples are isolated and meager. Moreover, the classical language prefers the conjunction $\delta\pi\omega\varsigma$ (or $\acute{\omega}\varsigma$), not ἵνα . Also, in these substantial clauses with $\delta\pi\omega\varsigma$, the regular mood is the indicative future and not the subjunctive. Over time, there is parallel use of the final infinitive with the analytical

19. On the meaning of the moods, and particularly on the volitional sense, see Schwyzer, *Syntax*, 301–54, esp. 313–14.

constructions of ὄπως and ἵνα, with a much stronger presence of the infinitive.²⁰

Since the first century BCE, this phenomenon has appeared with increasing frequency. In the era of the New Testament's composition and final editing (first and second centuries CE), the terms tend to be reversed, with the volitional clauses with ἵνα + subjunctive strengthened against the final infinitives, moving towards their final dominion after about the sixth century CE.

Crucial, therefore, is the period of Roman domination in the Hellenistic world wherein the Latin language was imposed as a language of administration and law in the Hellenistic provinces of the Roman Empire. Considering the fact that Latin, as opposed to Greek, has a particular category for volitional clauses which are identical in nature and function to the novel clauses of Koine, resulting from an analysis of the final infinitive as an object, it is natural to assume Latin influence. The issue, however, requires demonstration, all the more so given that the current position in biblical research is that the influence of Latin is limited in the New Testament.²¹

Scholars such as Cuthbert Hamilton Turner,²² F. Blass, A. Debrunner, and R. Funk,²³ B. Mandilaras,²⁴ and G. Horrocks²⁵ have suggested that in regards to the issue of our present study the Latin influence is both reasonable and obvious. Turner even states, "I doubt whether writers on the New Testament Greek have given adequate consideration to this aspect of their subject

20. See Jannaris, *Historical Greek Grammar*; Appendix VI §6. Blass, Debrunner, and Funk, *Greek Grammar*, §388. Mandilaras, *Verb*, §732.

21. See Moulton, *Prolegomena*, 20–21. Nevertheless, he notes: "So says Dr Thumb [against any grammatical influence of Latin], and the justification of his decision in each alleged example may be safely left till the cases arise. It should of course be noted that Prof. Blass is rather more disposed to admit Latinisms in syntax. Greek and Latin were so constantly in contact throughout the history of the Κοινή, that the question of Latinisms in Greek or Graecisms in Latin must often turn largely on general impressions of the genius of each language" (21).

22. Turner, "Marcan Usage," 356–59.

23. Blass, Debrunner, and Funk, *Greek Grammar*, §388.

24. Mandilaras, *Verb*, §796.

25. Horrocks, *Greek*, 129.

[i.e. the influence of Latin on Mark].”²⁶ So far, to the best of my knowledge, there has been no specific study that argues in favor of a Latin influence in the case of ἵνα clauses replacing the final infinitive, while this view is not usually referred to at all. Yet such a position is supported by several arguments.

7. Arguments in Favor of Latin Influence

At the end of the classical period, the infinitive began to be analyzed, the declarative infinitive in clauses of statement (declarative clauses) was introduced with the conjunctions ὅτι, ὡς (Latin *quod, quia*), and the final infinitive in clauses of desire (prospective clauses) was introduced with the final conjunctions ὅπως, and more rarely, ἵνα and ὡς (Latin *ut, uti, quo*, the negative *quominus*). The reason for resolving the infinitive was the need for clarity and precision, with a specialization of the subject, and the number and the time of the verbal action, as well as the need for clarification of its nature and meaning.²⁷ The following points regarding the analysis of the final infinitive in reference to the Latin influence are noteworthy.

First, in Ancient Greek, the conjunction ὅπως is regularly preferred, whereas the conjunctions ἵνα and ὡς are very rare. However, the analytical construction of the final infinitive prevails in the Koine; ὅπως is constricted until it disappears, whereas ἵνα is strengthened. Explanations that invoke Ionic or Semitic influence are not convincing. According to the scholar who proposed the theory of Ionic influence,²⁸ which has yet to be substantiated, we should find stronger evidence of the phenomenon in western Asia Minor than in other parts of the East.²⁹ Semitic influence is illogical since Semitic languages favor the

26. Turner, “Marcan Usage,” 346.

27. On the historical development of the infinitive, see Jannaris, *Historical Greek Grammar*, §§2062–2099, Appendix VI §§2–12. Cf. Caragounis, *Development of Greek*, 169–74.

28. Thumb, *Die griechische Sprache*, 58. Also, by the same author, review of Blass, *Grammatik des neutestamentlichen Griechisch*, 421–22.

29. Moulton, *Prolegomena*, 205, 209.

infinitive rather than the analytical construction.³⁰ Furthermore, both the Ionic and the Semitic influence had to have manifested a considerably widespread presence earlier than the Roman period, since contact between Attic Greek and these languages preceded its contact with Latin. On the contrary, Latin coincides chronologically with the extended presence of ἵνα clauses in Greek, which are used according to the corresponding Latin construction with *ut* + subjunctive in similar Latin clauses.

Second, in the classical age, the analysis of the final infinitive denotes a definite prospect, i.e., a pure purpose, and it mainly occurs with verbs signifying care, effort, purpose, and fear. Besides, the indicative future is primarily used, while the subjunctive is used less often. These clauses are usually characterized as substantive clauses in place of the infinitive-object or as indirect questions, and it is often difficult to distinguish them semantically from adverbial final clauses.³¹ For example:

βουλόμενος τὰ ἐπὶ τούτοις παρασκευάζειν καὶ ὅπως τὰ ἔξωθεν ἔξει ὡς ἄριστα, ἔκπλουν ποιεῖται. (Thucydides, *Historiae* 1.65)

ἐπιμελοῦνται πάντα ποιῶντες ὅπως οἱ παῖδες αὐτοῖς γένωνται ὡς δυνατὸν βέλτιστοι. (Xenophon, *Memorabilia* 2.2.6)

ἀλλὰ καὶ τούτου οἱ μὲν ἐπιμελοῦνται οὕτω ποιεῖν, οἱ δ' οὐ. (Xenophon, *Oeconomicus* 20.8)

However, in post-classical Greek, the analytical construction is formulated with ἵνα + subjunctive and is not limited to the semantic categories we mentioned (purpose and manner), but covers all of the speaker's intentions (desire, wish, command) and declares its content. This picture precisely reflects the volitional clauses of Latin.

Third, the syntactical function of these clauses, which have been recognized as nominal-substantive and volitional, presents strikingly similar features to Latin volitional clauses. Both their

30. Thackeray, *Grammar*, 24.

31. Kühner, Gerth, and Blass, *Ausführliche Grammatik*, 2.2:§552.

grammatical formulation and the verbs on which they depend are identical to the Latin substantive clauses with *ut* + subjunctive, which depend on volitional verbs (*oro, peto, rogo, precor, postulo*), hortatory verbs (*hortor, moneo, persuadeo, incito*), jussive verbs (*dico, impero, praescribo, mado*), verbs signifying to permit and prohibit (*permitto, prohibere*), and verbs of care (*curo, provideo*).³² It is remarkable that the use of *ἵνα* clauses rather than the infinitive parallels the growing use of the conjunction *ut* with the aforementioned verbs in Latin.³³

Fourth, the diachronic examination of the analytical structure of the final infinitive demonstrates that Greek has encountered difficulty in its analysis, which was not the case with the analysis of the declarative infinitive (which analysis was made earlier and without wavering in a declarative clause with *ὅτι, ὡς*).³⁴ The first transitional stage is considered to be the addition of a redundant semantically consecutive particle, *ὥστε* or *ὡς*, as well as the addition of the preposition *εἰς* with the article *τό* (*εἰς τό*) before the infinitive of purpose. Such examples have been identified in the Septuagint and the New Testament:

ἐγὼ ὁ θεὸς ὁ ἐξαγαγὼν σε ἐκ χώρας Χαλδαίων ὥστε δοῦναί σοι τὴν γῆν ταύτην. (Gen 15:7)

συνελόχησεν ἀνδρῶν ἐπιλέκτων ἐξήκοντα χιλιάδας καὶ πεντακισχιλίαν ἵππον ὥστε ἐκπολεμῆσαι αὐτούς. (1 Macc 4:28)

πορευθέντες εἰσῆλθον εἰς κώμην Σαμαριτῶν ὡς ἐτοιμάσαι αὐτῶ. (Luke 9:52)

συμβούλιον ἔλαβον πάντες οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς καὶ οἱ πρεσβύτεροι τοῦ λαοῦ κατὰ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ ὥστε θανατώσαι αὐτόν. (Matt 27:1)

μη γὰρ οἰκίας οὐκ ἔχετε εἰς τὸ ἐσθίειν καὶ πίνειν; (1 Cor 11:22)

(Ἐρωτῶμεν δὲ ὑμᾶς, ἀδελφοί) . . . εἰς τὸ μη ταχέως σαλευθῆναι ὑμᾶς ἀπὸ τοῦ νοὸς μηδὲ θροεῖσθαι. (2 Thess 2:2)

32. Ernout and Thomas, *Syntaxe Latine*, §§307–8.

33. This remark is noted by Robertson, *Grammar*, 111.

34. Jannaris, *Historical Greek Grammar*, §§1761–1762, Appendix VI §§8–12. According to Hermann, *Nebensätze*, 257, it did not become acceptable very early in the vernacular Attic dialect (cf. Schwyzler, *Syntax*, 673 n. 3).

χρείαν ἔχετε τοῦ διδάσκειν ὑμᾶς τινά. (Heb 5:12)

προσηύξατο τοῦ μὴ βρέξαι. (Jas 5:17)

At the same time, there is an analysis of the final infinitive in ὅπως and ὡς clauses, which, however, is limited, as aforementioned.³⁵ The use of ἵνα clauses instead of a final infinitive is rare, and in such cases, they correspond to final clauses or to the imperative. These unstable constructions gave way to the dominance of ἵνα + subjunctive. Jannaris explains the dominance of ἵνα by the setting aside of all other manners of analytical construction, but he does not give the cause of this preference. Why did ὥστε, which eventually ended up becoming a final conjunction in the Koine, or ὅπως, which Classical Greek had already suggested for analyzing the final infinitive, not prevail? The remark that ὅπως was archaic is contested by the fact that it endured in the analysis of the declarative infinitive and, in any case, remained an option until the end.

We find that the contact with Latin during those crucial transitional times to have been decisive for the evolution of the Greek language. The analysis of the final infinitive, morphologically wavering, did not continue according to the original form of analysis as in Ancient Greek, but rather it was influenced by a parallel Latin construction.

8. *The Factor of Roman Translation Practice*

The coexistence of Greek and Latin civilizations had all the prerequisites for an intense interaction. Not only because Latin was the language of the conqueror, but above all, because the conqueror appreciated and loved the Greek language, favoring contact with it in every way. We know that from about 200 BCE and on, after the Romans conquered in the East and became

35. See Matt 8:31: *παρεκάλεσαν ὅπως μεταβῆ ἀπὸ τῶν ὀρίων αὐτῶν*; 9:38: *δεήθητε οὖν τοῦ κυρίου τοῦ θερισμοῦ ὅπως ἐκβάλῃ ἐργάτας*; cf. Luke 10:2; Acts 8:15: *προσηύξαντο περὶ αὐτῶν ὅπως λάβωσιν πνεῦμα ἅγιον*.

sovereign over the Successor Kingdoms in Syria and Macedonia, the fundamental principle of Roman politics was that official communication should be made only in the Latin language.³⁶ However, though the Greek language was officially acknowledged over time as the language of the empire, it was always second, whereas Latin was the language of power, administration, and Roman law. Nevertheless, due to the widespread use of Greek, even in official or semi-official Greek-Latin negotiations, to ensure clear communication and the avoidance of misunderstandings, Roman decrees were translated into Greek.³⁷

36. See Valerius Maximus, *Factorum et Dictorum Memorabilium* 2.2.2 (Perseus Digital Library):

Magistratus uero prisci quantopere suam populique Romani maiestatem retinentes se gesserint hinc cognosci potest, quod inter cetera obtinendae grauitatis indicia illud quoque magna cum perseuerantia custodiebant, ne Graecis umquam nisi latine responsa darent. quin etiam ipsos linguae uolubilitate, qua plurimum ualent, excussa per interpretem loqui cogebant non in urbe tantum nostra, sed etiam in Graecia et Asia, quo scilicet Latinae uocis honos per omnes gentes uenerabilior diffunderetur. nec illis deerant studia doctrinae, sed nulla non in re pallium togae subici debere arbitrabantur; indignum esse existimantes inlecebris et suauitati litterarum imperii pondus et auctoritatem donari.

Cf. Livy, *Ab urbe Condita*, Praefatio §7 (Perseus Digital Library):

et si cui populo licere oportet consecrare origines suas et ad deos referre auctores, ea belli gloria est populo Romano ut cum suum conditorisque sui parentem Martem potissimum ferat tam et hoc gentes humanae patiantur aequo animo quam imperium patiuntur ('and if any people ought to be allowed to consecrate their origins and refer them to a divine source, so great is the military glory of the Roman People that when they profess that their Father and the Father of their Founder was none other than Mars, the nations of the earth may well submit to this also with as good a grace as they submit to Rome's dominion').

37. An example of official linguistic misunderstanding is given by Polybius and Livius, among the Aetolians, and the Consul Manius Acilius Glabrus, during the Greek-Latin negotiation of their surrender to the Roman authority:

As Titus Livius informs us, in 167 BCE in Amphipolis Aemilius Paulus announced the Roman occupation with a Latin resolution, translated into Greek for the sake of those present.³⁸ In Rome, from the period of the Republic (i.e., from 200 BCE), there had been a government secretariat in charge of translations, which always issued official Greek translation of the documents intended for the East.³⁹ In these texts, the Latin influence is heavy. Both the style of the Senate's Greek decisions and the performance of Roman technical language features appear to be uniform from the beginning, so it has been hypothesized that there was a formal Latin-Greek glossary.⁴⁰ The official in charge

Οἱ δ' Αἰτωλοὶ καὶ πλείω λόγον ποιησάμενοι περὶ τῶν ὑποπιπτόντων ἔκριναν ἐπιτρέπειν τὰ ὅλα Μανίῳ, δόντες αὐτοῦς εἰς τὴν Ῥωμαίων πίστιν, οὐκ εἰδότες τίνα δύναμιν ἔχει τοῦτο, τῷ δὲ τῆς πίστεως ὄνόματι, ὡς ἂν διὰ τοῦτο τελειοτέρου σφίσιν ἐλέους ὑπάρξοντος. Παρὰ (δὲ) Ῥωμαίοις ἰσοδυναμεῖ τό τ' εἰς τὴν πίστιν αὐτὸν ἐγχειρίσαι καὶ τὸ τὴν ἐπιτροπὴν δοῦναι περὶ αὐτοῦ τῷ κρατοῦντι. ('The Aetolians, after some further observations about the actual situation, decided to refer the whole matter to Glabrio, committing themselves "to the faith" of the Romans, not knowing the exact meaning of the phrase, but deceived by the word "faith" as if they would thus obtain more complete pardon. But with the Romans to commit oneself to the faith of a victor is equivalent to surrendering at discretion.') (Polybius, *Histories* 20.9.11–12 [LCL])

*Tum decretum Phaeneas, in quo id diserte scriptum erat, ostendit. . . . Prope dicentem interfatus Romanum 'Non in seruitutem' inquit, 'sed in fidem tuam nos tradidimus, et certum habeo te imprudentia labi, qui nobis imperes, quae moris Graecorum non sint.' Ad ea consul 'Nec Hercule' inquit 'magnopere nunc curo, quid Aetoli satis ex more Graecorum factum esse censeant, dum ego more Romano imperium inhibeam in dedito modo decreto suo, ante armis uictos; itaque, ni propere fit, quod impero, uinciri uos iam iubebo.' Adferri catenas et circumstidere lictores iussit. (Livy, *History of Rome* 36.28.2.2–6)*

38. Livy, *History of Rome* 45.29.3: *silentio per praeconem facto Paulus Latine, quae senatui, quae sibi ex consilii sententia visa essent, pronuntiavit. ea Cn. Octavius praetor—name et ipse aderat—interpretata sermone Graeco referebat.*

39. See Lindsay, "Suetonius," 454–55.

40. See Hoffmann et al., *Geschichte*, §139. Collections of Latin glosses with parallel Greek text have been preserved since late antiquity and contain

held the title *Ab epistulis Graecis* and/or *Ab epistulis Latinis*, and produced a multitude of bilingual public and private texts that served the needs of the administration and the bilingual populations.⁴¹ The translators had to be educated Greek-speaking scribes (and perhaps bilingual Romans as well) and the translation was a strict word-for-word translation, which followed the Latin text step by step.⁴²

With practices like those above, it is understandable that they extended their influence far beyond word borrowing, but also to grammatical effects.⁴³ Syntax was the linguistic field which was influenced the most by this kind of *verbum e verbo* translation. We consider the Latin construction of the jussive and hortatory verbs, the presence of which was strong in Roman administrative and legal texts, to have been one of the crucial reasons for the reinforcement and establishment of volitional clauses in Hellenistic Koine. Our proposal is further enhanced if we take into account the fact that such Latin texts were translated into Greek. For example:

ὑπατος ὁ πρῶτος γενόμενος γράμματα
 πρὸς τοὺς δήμους πολιτείας τε πρὸς οὓς
 ἂν αὐτῷ φαίνηται ἀποστελλέτω τὸν δῆ-
 μον τὸν Ῥωμαίων ἐν ἐπιμελείαι, ὥστε τοὺς
 πολίτας Ῥωμαίων καὶ τοὺς συμμάχους Λα-
 τίνους τε τῶν τε ἐκτὸς ἐθνῶν, οἵτινες ἐν
 τῇ φιλίας τοῦ δήμου Ῥωμαίων εἰσίν, μετ' ἀσ-
 φαλείας πλοῖζεσθαι δύνωνται, τὴν τε Κιλι-
 κίαν διὰ τοῦτο τὸ πρᾶγμα κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν νό-
 μον ἐπαρχίαν στρατηγικὴν πεποιχέναι·
 τε[] κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν νόμον τὴν ἐπιμέ-
 λειαν[ν δια]κατέχωσιν, ἵνα οὗτος ὁ νόμος οὕτως γέν-
 ῃτα[ι κύρι]ος φροντιζέτωσαν. (*Lex de provinciis praetoriis* [translation of a

expressions of everyday life to facilitate linguistic contact with the Eastern people in state administration issues. See Graeco-Latin glossaries in Loewe and Goetz, eds., *Corpus Glossariorum Latinorum*.

41. See Townend, "Post," 375: since "as early as the reign of Nero."

42. See Mourgues, "Bilinguisme."

43. See Brock, "Translation"; Brixhe, "Greek."

Roman statute, 100 BCE)]⁴⁴

<i>Consulibus M. Vinucio et</i>	Ἑπάτοις Μάρκωι	In the consulship of
<i>Q. Lucretio et postea</i>	Οὐινουκίωι καὶ Κοίντωι	Marcus Vinucius and
<i>P. et Cn. Lentulis et</i>	Λουκρητίωι καὶ μετὰ	Quintus Lucretius, and
<i>tertium Paullo Fabio</i>	ταῦτα Ποπλίωι καὶ Ναίωι	afterwards in that of
<i>Maximo et Q. Tuberone</i>	Λέντλοισ καὶ τρίτον	Publius and Gnaeus
<i>senatu populoque</i>	Παύλλωι	Lentulus, and a third
<i>Romano consentientibus</i>	Φαβίωι Μαξίμωι καὶ	time in that of Paullus
<i>ut curator legum . . .</i>	Κοίντωι Τουβέρωνι τῆς τε	Fabius Maximus and
<i>creator . . .</i>	συνκλήτου καὶ τοῦ δήμου	Quintus Tubero, when
	τοῦ Ῥωμαίων	the Senate and the
	<u>ὁμολογούντων, ἵνα</u>	Roman people
	<u>ἐπιμελητῆς τῶν τε νόμων</u>	unanimously agreed that
	<u>καὶ τῶν τρόπων ἐπὶ τῇ</u>	<u>I should be elected</u>
	<u>μεγίστη ἐξουσίαι μόνος</u>	overseer of laws and
	<u>χειροτονηθῶι, ἀρχὴν</u>	morals, without a
	<u>οὐδεμίαν παρὰ τὰ</u>	colleague and with the
	<u>πάτρια ἔθνη διδομένην</u>	fullest power, I refused
	<u>ἀνεδεξάμην· ἃ δὲ τότε</u>	to accept any power
	<u>δι' ἐμοῦ ἢ σύνκλητος</u>	offered me which was
	<u>οἰκονομεῖσθαι ἐβούλετο,</u>	contrary to the traditions
	<u>τῆς δημοκρατικῆς ἐξουσίας</u>	of our ancestors. Those
	<u>ὧν ἐτέλεσα. Καὶ ταύτης</u>	things which at that time
	<u>αὐτῆς τῆς</u>	the senate <u>wished me to</u>
	<u>ἀρχῆς συνάρχοντα αὐτὸς</u>	<u>administer</u> I carried out
	<u>ἀπὸ τῆς συνκλήτου</u>	by virtue of my
	<u>πεντάκις αἰτήσας ἔλαβον.</u>	tribunician power. And
		even in this office I five
		times received from the
		senate a colleague at my
		own request.

Res Gestae Divi Augusti (Monumentum Ancyranum, 1 CE–100 CE)⁴⁵

44. *I.Knidos* I, 31, col. III, v. 31–35.

45. Augustus, *Res Gestae Divi Augusti* 6 (LCL). Cf. Domingo, *Latinismos*, 257.

In all the above cases, the Latin-speaking translator renders the Latin volitional clauses in Greek with ἵνα + subjunctive, disregarding or ignoring their more normative rendering in Greek with an infinitive (in a more literal way) or with a nominative-substantive clause by ὅπως + a future condition. This non-perfect conformity of the Greek syntax to Latin imposes the type of Latin syntax on Greek, as observed by sociolinguists who have studied the phenomenon.⁴⁶

The fact of the translation practice of the Romans is of great importance for our position in that it can explain both the reinforcement and the widespread diffusion of linguistic change in the contemporary Greek speech of the inhabitants of the Roman Empire. Translated texts were published and communicated to the public, reproduced many times, and used in standard form throughout the Empire. The element of publicity, repetition, and standardization seems to have contributed to the dissemination and enforcement of this particular change in the vernacular Koine language.

9. Steps in the Establishment of the Volitional Clauses

According to the above, the process of the establishment of the volitional clauses against the final infinitive in Hellenistic Koine can be explained as follows.

In post-Classical Greek, the ἵνα clause is not limited to declaring only purpose but also exhibits an ever-increasing tendency to replace the final infinitive when it is used instead of an imperative or as an object in verbs expressing exhortation, command, or request, of which it is the subject matter of their respective orders.⁴⁷

In the first case, there is an independent clause with the ἵνα + subjunctive, but in fact, it is an analysis of the final infinitive that functions as an imperative by omitting a relative verb (e.g., λέγειν, κελεύειν). This imperatival infinitive (which already

46. See Matras and Sakel, "Mechanisms."

47. According to Thumb, *Die griechische Sprache*, 58, the use of the ἵνα for replacing the infinitive is due to Ionic influence.

occurs in Homer) is very common in papyri that contain official documents, state decrees, and administrative orders, while it is interchangeable with forms of the imperative mood.⁴⁸ Therefore, the ἵνα clause which replaces it is not an independent clause of the imperative, nor, moreover, is it a Semitism, as Moulton and Turner have claimed,⁴⁹ but rather it is a substitute for the imperatival infinitive, as Mandilaras has shown.⁵⁰ This case must be the oldest case of infinitive analysis, as it was already occurring, though rarely, in the texts of the tragic poets.⁵¹ We can therefore assume that this analytical construction was a tendency of Koine which might have been strengthened by its proximity to Latin and especially by the official Latin documents of the state administration that are replete of the Latin volitional clauses.⁵²

In the second case, where ἵνα + subjunctive replaces a final infinitive that depends on verbs of exhortation, command, or appeal, we also have an expression of imperative.⁵³ The weight of significance falls into the volitional clause, containing the command, while the main verbs function as secondary, verbal particles, which merely state the mood or the mode of expression

48. Mandilaras, *Verb*, §§756–69, esp. §768: “The imperatival infinitive is the origin of the imperatival ἵνα in so far as the former was replaced by the analytical construction with ἵνα.”

49. Turner, *Style*, 94–95. Nevertheless, Moulton, *Prolegomena*, 178, suggests that the imperatival ἵνα is “an innovation in Hellenistic.”

50. Mandilaras, *Verb*, §§587–89.

51. E.g. Sophocles, *Oedipus at Colonus* 156–157 (Lloyd-Jones, LCL): ἀλλ’ ἵνα τῶδ’ ἐν ἀφθέρκτω μὴ προπέσῃς νάπει ποιάνεντι, κάθυδρος οὐ κρατήρ μείλιχίων ποτῶν ῥεύματι συντρέχει, τόν, ξένε πάμμωρ’, εὖ φύλαξαι (‘That your rash steps may intrude on the field of this voiceless, grassy glade, where the waters of the mixing bowl blend their stream with the flow of honied offerings, beware, unhappiest of strangers.’)

52. Horrocks’ estimation is similar (*Greek*, §5.3). Nevertheless, he considers the phenomenon to be just as parallel, reasoning that the analysis of the infinitive had already begun from Hellenistic times. However, the conjunction used in those times was ὅπως, while the conjunction that prevailed later was ἵνα; also, the analysis concerned mainly the imperative mood. Furthermore, we point out the translative practice, which favored this Latin influence.

53. On the extended use of ἵνα + subjunctive instead of the imperative, see Blass, Debrunner, and Funk, *Greek Grammar*, §369.

(command, request, etc.) of the speaker (cf. modal verbs). This case might also be favored by Latin volitional clauses with similar structure.

Moreover, we note that the jussive and hortatory verbs of Latin, constructed with volitional clauses, are also constructed with final infinitives. Therefore, it is not inappropriate or inconceivable to assume that Greek, in its contact with Latin, was reinforced to resolve the final infinitives of its respective verbs with clauses of ἵνα, which was the respective conjunction of the Latin *ut*, and to establish its volitional clauses.⁵⁴ Furthermore, in Latin the verbs that are constructed alternately with a final infinitive or volitional clause of *ut* are not only the jussive ones but also a broad set of verbs that express the speaker's volition in the broader sense. We can assume that Greek, similarly to Latin, extended the use of ἵνα clauses to the totality of volitional expressions.⁵⁵

In support of our claim that the establishment of the analysis of the final infinitive began with the construction of the jussive and hortatory verbs primarily during the years of the Latin occupation, it is argued that until the third century BCE, verbs of modality were constructed with the infinitive in the enlarged

54. Among the Greek final conjunctions, ἵνα corresponds entirely and precisely to the Latin *ut*, since it has the general semantic notion of desire, whereas ὅπως and ὡς are colored with the special meaning of manner. *Ut* covers, of course, the meaning of manner, but not only. Moreover, the grammatical developments of ἵνα and *ut* share common features, since both conjunctions were initially adverbs of place, which became transformed into conjunctions with broad and multiple usages, and ended up functioning as meaningless particles for the construction of volitional clauses. On the grammatical development of these conjunctions, consult the grammars and the lexicons (especially, Liddell, Scott, and Jones, *Greek-English Lexicon*, and Lewis and Short, *Latin Dictionary*).

55. See Ernout and Thomas, *Syntaxe Latine*, §272: Nominal use of the infinitive as an object of verbs signifying to want, be able, strive for: *volo, nolo, malo, cupio, opto, possum, nequeo, scio* ('know to act'), *nescio, paratus sum, prohibeo, impedio, curo, suscipio* ('attempt'), *neglego, permitto, concedo* (more often with *ut*), *studeo, contendo* (with *ut*, also), *hortor, statuo, constituo, decerno* ('decide,' with *ut*), *habeo* + infinitive ('be able to'), *caveo* (more often with *ut*).

Attic language. A study by Ignacio Rodríguez Alfageme's research team on the language of the *Hippocraticum Corpus* has indicated that verbs signifying a modality (θέλω, ξυμφέρω, οἶμαι, δοκέω, δεῖ, δύναμαι, ἀδυνατώτεροι, ἀνάγκη, οὐκ οἶόν τε) or a particular development of the action of a verb (ἄρχομαι, μέλλω, ῥήϊον) tend to be formed with infinitives in formulaic combinations.⁵⁶

In any case, in the beginning, the use of volitional clauses instead of the final infinitive was minor and sporadic, and the infinitive was not completely gone from the Koine until late antiquity. Characteristic of the gradual transition of the substitution is the parallel use of an infinitive and a volitional clause depending on the same verb within the same period. Take, for example, 1 Esd 4:47–51 from the Septuagint:

καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς τοπάρχαις ἐν Κοίλῃ Συρίᾳ καὶ Φοινίκη καὶ τοῖς ἐν τῷ Λιβάνῳ ἔγραψεν ἐπιστολὰς μεταφέρειν ξύλα κέδρινα ἀπὸ τοῦ Λιβάνου εἰς Ἱερουσαλὴμ καὶ ὅπως οἰκοδομήσωσιν μετ' αὐτοῦ τὴν πόλιν καὶ ἔγραψεν πᾶσι τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις τοῖς ἀναβαίνουσιν ἀπὸ τῆς βασιλείας εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐλευθερίας πάντα δυνατὸν καὶ σατράπην καὶ τοπάρχην καὶ οἰκονόμον μὴ ἐπελεύσεσθαι ἐπὶ τὰς θύρας αὐτῶν καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν χώραν ἣν κρατήσουσιν ἀφορολόγητον αὐτοῖς ὑπάρχειν καὶ ἵνα οἱ Ἰδουμαῖοι ἀφιώσι τὰς κώμας ἅς διακρατοῦσιν τῶν Ἰουδαίων καὶ εἰς τὴν οἰκοδομὴν τοῦ ἱεροῦ δοθῆναι κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν τάλαντα εἴκοσι μέχρι τοῦ οἰκοδομηθῆναι etc.

See also the following inscription from Troas in the second century:⁵⁷

δεῖξαι δὲ καὶ πρεσβεῖα ἐν τῷ ἐκ-
κὸλῶσιᾳ ὅστις παραγενόμενος πρὸς Λαμψακανοῖς [τό]
[τ]ε ψάφισμα ἀποδώσει καὶ ἀξιάσει ποιήσασθαι τ[ὸν ἀν]-
αγγελίαν τῶν στεφάνωγ καὶ παρ' ἑαυτοῖς ἐν το[ῖς Δι]-
ονουσίαις καὶ ἵνα ἀναγραφῆ τὸ ψάφισμα τοῦτο [εἰς]
[σ]τάλαν λευκῷ λίθῳ καὶ ἀνατεθῆ ἐν τῷ ἐπιφ[ανεστά]-
τῳ τόπῳ· χειροτονήσαι δὲ ἐν τῷ ἐκκλη[σίᾳ ἐφόδι]-
ον τῷ πρεσβευτῆ ποσσῶν [ἀμερῶν δεήσει — — —]

56. See Santos, "Infinitivos."

57. *IMT NoerdITroas* 8. Cf. Mandilaras, *Verb*, §793.

The substitution of such a broad and crucial verbal category (i.e. as an object) was eventually to influence all uses of the final infinitive. *Ἰνα* clauses replaced the final infinitive as the subject of impersonal expressions, as an explanation, and as the apodosis of the indirect speech dependent on jussive and volitional verbs.

10. *Linguistic and Sociolinguistic Conditions*

We must, however, emphasize that this whole process was not generated *ex nihilo*. Since classical times, the Greek language had already given samples of analysis of the infinitives, final and declarative, into clauses of desire and declaration, respectively, as we have pointed out. However, what causes questions is not the fact of analyticity, but the way it ended up, which was not compatible, if we might say, with the content of the Greek syntax. Leaving aside the analysis in clauses of declaration, which is not of interest here, the classical analysis of the final infinitive in clauses of desire (a) primarily used the conjunctions *ὅπως* and *ὡς* and (b) was constituted from clauses with well-known features, such as finality, or result, or indirect speech. The phenomenon of volitional clauses, as we have illustrated it, was a norm of Latin rather than of Greek syntax. Why would Greek have had to appropriate a volitional syntax such as that of Latin?

The answer is related to the issue of modality. The classical Greek forms expressing the volition of the speaker, in the Hellenistic and Roman age, had been set on the path to weakening or even disappearing:

(a) The potential optative, expressing the distinction between the potential and the unreal, subsides (its position taken by the imperfect indicative—which, however, does not declare the potential—or, better yet, by periphrasis with *θέλω*).

(b) The confusion of the forms of the future indicative with the aorist subjunctive, due to iotacism, is complete, resulting in the loss of the semantic quality of the subjunctive which considers the event as possible and probable, but not as definitive as the future indicative. (The subjunctive replaces the future with the periphrasis *οὐ μή* + subjunctive, e.g., Mark 13:2: *οὐ μὴ ἀφεθῆῖ λίθος ἐπὶ λίθον, ὃς οὐ μὴ καταλυθῆῖ*).

(c) The use of the infinitive does not cease but tends to subside as an imperative and as the object of purpose or result, as we have seen. Besides this, the infinitive construction with the subject in the accusative also creates confusion regarding the subject. The analytical construction of ἵνα + subjunctive provides the precision of number, person, and even time.⁵⁸

Furthermore, there is another factor that we must consider in order to understand Latin influence more deeply. Besides the semantic category of volition and the translation of the Latin language, sociolinguistics draws our attention to the linguistic rules that work in language interference. According to these, in multilingual and multicultural societies, such as the Hellenistic and Roman *οἰκουμένη*, linguistic influences are bidirectional and interactive between the languages. Namely, there are “instances of deviation from the norms of either language which occur in the speech of bilinguals as a result of their familiarity with more than one language.”⁵⁹ Interference occurs in phonology, word order, vocabulary, morphology, even in syntax, and it is conditioned primarily by social factors.⁶⁰ Moreover, the interference normally occurs from the language with high status to that with low status, while it is probably one set of values to be expressed in one language, and another set in the other, depending on the field wherein each language has the higher prestige.⁶¹

58. Mandilaras, *Verb*, §733. See also Jannaris, *Historical Greek Grammar*, §2063, Appendix VI §2. Cf. Caragounis, *Development of Greek*, 169.

59. Weinreich, *Languages in Contact*, 1. Sarah Thomasson has studied thoroughly the case in her work, *Language in Contact*, esp. chs. 4–6.

60. Gumperz and Blom, “Social Meaning,” 281. Cf. Thomasson, *Language in Contact*, 16: “When human creativity comes into play, there are no discernible linguistic limits to the possibilities for transferring any linguistic feature from one language to another.”

61. See Ferguson, “Diglossia,” 328–29. For a critical consideration of Ferguson’s definitions and analysis, see Porter, “Functional Distribution.” Porter suggests that “register studies are *more* able to describe the strata of usage across a number of languages” (72).

In the case at hand, Latin was the language of power, law, and practical politics, such that it could be characterized, from a social aspect, as the language with the higher prestige.⁶² Greek authors sought to attain the Latin language not because they admired Latin literature, but because Latin was the language of the upper class in the *imperium*.⁶³ Besides this, officials in the Roman administration needed to be bilingual to serve the bureaucracy. This fact adds further evidential value to our argument that the Greek language adopted the volitional constructions of Latin, starting from the field of the jussive and imperative expressions which were frequent in the language of the administration.

Moreover, in favor of the sociolinguistic influence of Latin in the use of its ἵνα volitional clauses, it is appropriate to note that these clauses abound in the Gospel of Mark which, according to one tradition, was written in Rome, where the most potent Latin influence was. Similarly, it has been observed by researchers that the first-century-BCE historian Polybius favors these ἵνα clauses after verbs such as αἰτοῦμαι, παραγγέλλω, γράφω.⁶⁴ It is important to emphasize that Polybius grew up in Rome, was a Roman-educated man, held the office of *A studii* (i.e., the Minister of Culture)⁶⁵ and possibly translated Virgil's texts into Greek as well as Homer's texts into Latin.⁶⁶

The ἵνα volitional clause is a morphosyntactic change, and the development of morphosyntactic structures as a result of

62. Thoroughly on the bidirectional influence between Latin and Greek and on the importance of the interference phenomenon, see Horsley, *New Documents*, 14–19, where the relevant bibliography. See also Horrocks, *Greek*, §5.3; Adams, *Bilingualism*.

63. Dubuisson, "Latin," 101–3.

64. Turner, "Marcan Usage," has highlighted Mark's and Polybius's usage of ἵνα clauses.

65. See von Albrecht, *History*, 1:7.

66. See Seneca, *Consolatio ad Polybium* 11.5 (LCL): *in manus sume utriuslibet auctoris carmina, quae tu ita resolvisti, ut quamvis structura illorum recesserit, permaneat tamen gratia: sic enim illa ex alia lingua in aliam transtulisti, ut, quod difficillimum erat omnes tamen virtutes in alienam te orationem secutae sint.* Cf. Dubuisson, *Latin*.

language contact has been deeply analyzed in recent years. It has been defined as a complex phenomenon, which “involves internal change as well as historical and sociolinguistic factors.”⁶⁷ Aitchison states that language change occurs in two ways: outwards, by means of a community, and inwards, within a language (i.e., outwards by means of contact and inwards in the structure of the language).⁶⁸ According to her illustrative description, syntactic change creeps into a language “at a vulnerable point,” “at a single point where there is a possibility of analyzing the structure in more than one way,” usually affecting particular lexical items.

The change tends to become widely used via ambiguous structures. One or some of these get increasingly preferred, and in the long run the dispreferred options fade away through disuse. Mostly, speakers are unaware that such changes are taking place. Overall, all changes, whether phonetic/phonological, morphological, or syntactic, take place gradually, and also spread gradually. There is always fluctuation between the old and the new. Then the changes tend to move onward and outward, becoming the norm among one group of speakers before moving on to the next.⁶⁹

From the various methods which have been developed to study these changes, we find the most appropriate method to be that which takes into account the internal change which is carried out in the structure of the language in addition to the contact-induced change due to external influence.⁷⁰ This linguistic interference could be classified as a linguistic convergence, which should be favored by certain specific conditions, such as a long period of contact between languages and a sufficient knowledge of both languages by users. The main condition,

67. Chamoreau and Léglise, “Multi-model Approach,” 1. Cf. earlier, Meillet, “Comment les mots changent,” 271, who argues that “les faits linguistiques, les faits historiques et les faits sociaux s’unissent, agissent et réagissent pour transformer le sens des mots.”

68. Aitchison, *Language Change*, 86.

69. Aitchison, *Language Change*, 100–13, with quotations from pp. 104, 107, 100, respectively.

70. Cf. Chamoreau and Léglise, “Multi-model Approach,” 1, 6–15. Lucas, “Contact-induced Language Change,” 526–30.

however, is that the linguistic system of the receiving language needs to allow for the possibility of integrating the contact-induced change.⁷¹

Latin and Ancient Greek favor convergence of this kind. The fact that both languages belong to the same family makes it difficult to distinguish whether a given instance is due to external contact-induced change or to parallel internal change. However, it has been found that all these so-called parallel developments are not always independent of one another, given that the two languages have had a long and close contact, and that there has been a conscious effort on behalf of both groups of people to acquire knowledge of both languages. In this case, the genetic relationships in the structure of the two languages can well be regarded as an argument in favor of a reasonable and easy interaction. Within this context, the Latin influence on the formulation of the Greek volitional ἵνα clauses might well apply.

In recent years, important studies have come to light that highlight such interactions between Hellenistic Koine and Latin and support our hypothesis, as they show that the case of ἵνα is not an isolated instance. Horrocks, for example, remarks that the functional merging of the aorist and perfect in Greek during the Roman era “may have been influenced by the dual use of the Latin perfect as a past perfective and as a present stative.”⁷²

Remarkable is a recent study demonstrating that the construction of the periphrastic perfects of the so-called possessive verbs, consisting of *habeo* and ἔχω + passive perfect participle, in Latin and Greek respectively, testifies to a linguistic effect which occurs through the ability of these languages to integrate periphrasis in their system.⁷³ Concretely, the construction ἔχω + passive perfect participle with -μενος, which

71. Jakobson, “Théorie,” 241: “La langue n’accepte des éléments de structure étrangers que quand ils correspondent à ses tendances de développement. Par conséquent l’importation d’éléments de vocabulaire ne peut pas être une force motrice du développement phonologique, mais tout au plus l’une des sources utilisées pour les besoins de ce développement.”

72. Horrocks, *Greek*, 131.

73. Bruno, “Latin-Greek Diachronic Convergence.”

appears in Hellenistic Koine as a transitive verb and receives an object, could be considered a contact-induced change from the Latin. This structure does not occur at all in Classical Greek but appears in Koine alongside the Latin structure *habeo* + passive perfect participle in *-tus*, which is used as a transitive verb coupled with an object in Plautus's texts (first century BCE) and in Petronius's texts (first century CE). It is characteristic, in this case as well, that the Greek authors using this construction are the Latin-educated Diodorus Siculus and Plutarch.

11. *Rebuttal of Opposing Arguments*

Before concluding, we offer a rebuttal of some arguments against a possible Latin influence. The only serious arguments were formulated more than a century ago (in 1906) by Moulton and later scholars refer to his work.⁷⁴ Moulton's main arguments are as follows. (a) The usage of the clauses with a non-final *ἵνα* "was deeply rooted in the vernacular, in fields which Latin cannot have touched to the extent which so far-reaching a change involves."⁷⁵ Also, (b) the transition from purpose clauses with *ἵνα* + jussive subjunctive to clauses with *ἵνα* + subjunctive, in which the jussive idea was absent, was easy since in both cases the clauses of *ἵνα* were the object of the governing verb. Nonetheless, Moulton's conclusion leaves the issue open: in arguing that we do not need to be so strict in recognizing the concept of purpose in the use of *ἵνα*, he is suggesting that we need to investigate the *ἵνα* construction more deeply and take into account Thumb's proposal regarding the prevalence of a dialectic difference.

The first argument is broken down by the findings of sociolinguistic research on bilingualism and language interference, coupled with the particular research on the interactive influence between Greek and Latin. As we have seen, the cross-linguistic influence between the languages can reach the fields of the *ἵνα* construction and bring about the results that Moulton

74. Moulton, *Prolegomena*, 208–9.

75. Moulton, *Prolegomena*, 208.

excludes based on the knowledge of his times. The second argument is not very convincing. The explanation that the transition was easy does not explain why it was easy: which factor made this transition easy? Does the influence of Latin? An affirmative answer is what we support. Besides, the fact that Moulton feels the need for further investigation shows that his arguments do not satisfy him either.

Regarding Nigel Turner's claim that this construction is "a biblical rather than a secular idiom,"⁷⁶ it is enough to note that there have been sufficient secular attestations.⁷⁷

12. Conclusion

A quantitative and comparative study of the use of *ἵνα* clauses in all texts of the Greco-Roman period would lead to more confident conclusions. A study of the functional use of *ἵνα* clauses in the context of each book of the New Testament would further enrich the above findings. However, such an investigation may be the subject of another article.

To conclude, I would argue that in the case of the Greek volitional *ἵνα* clauses, it is not inappropriate to discern a Latin influence, but we should point out that we do not have a one-way and straightforward process. Of course, Greek had already, before contacting the Latin language, presented clauses of *ἵνα* as an analysis of the final infinitive, nevertheless with a clear sense of purpose. We posit that under the specific conditions of the development of the Greek language and in accordance with the linguistic rules of language contact and interference, it was the Latin language that contributed decisively to the establishment of the Greek volitional *ἵνα* clauses. The understanding of this development clarifies the use of *ἵνα* in the New Testament where all the stages of the linguistic process are sufficiently represented.

76. Turner, *Style*, 94.

77. See Pernot, *Études*, 64; Mandilaras, *Verb*, §585ff.; Horsley, *New Documents*, 57.

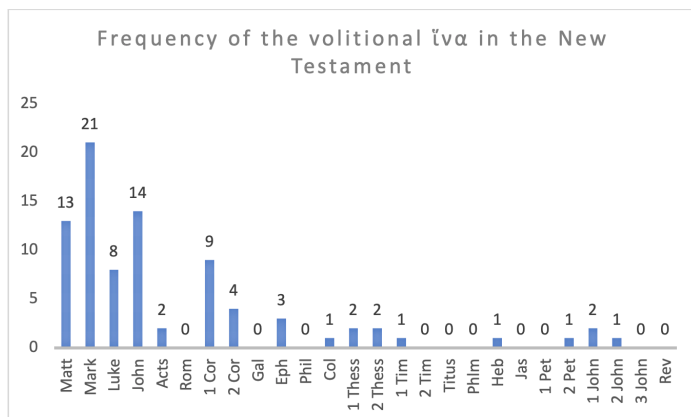


Figure 1. Frequency of the Volitional ἵνα in the New Testament⁷⁸

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78. The chart shows schematically the frequency with which volitional clauses with ἵνα occur in the books of the New Testament. The table was compiled based on the references cited in footnotes 9 to 15 of this article and covers all the cases of the volitional clauses. The numbers at the top of the columns show the number of occurrences of the volitional ἵνα in each book.

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